

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 6027

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO PINT

SUBJ: OBSERVATIONS ON YUGOSLAVIA

REF: BELGRADE 5386 (NOTAL)

1. EMBCOUNS ATTENDED DINNER AT HOME OF SWEDISH DIPLOMAT
LAST WEEK ATTENDED BY MIHAILO MARKOVIC. AN LCY MEMBER
AND FORMER DEAN OF BELGRADE UNIVERSITY'S PHILOSOPHY
FACULTY, MARKOVIC IS ONE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREMOST
ADVOCATES OF "SOCIALIST HUMANISM." OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM
OF THE REGIME'S BUREAUCRATIC RULE LED TO THE DISMISSAL
OF HIM AND SEVEN COLLEAGUES (THE BELGRADE 8) FROM
TEACHING POSITIONS IN 1975 AFTER A LONG CAMPAIGN.
FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF SOME REMARKS HE MADE
ON YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP, SOCIETY AND LCY.

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2. YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP: MARKOVIC SAID DOLANC

WOULD EMERGE AFTER TITO BUT NOT BECAUSE OF ANY INHERENT LEADERSHIP QUALITIES. DOLANC HAD BEEN RELATIVELY UNKNOWN BEFORE 1972 AND HAD NOT BEEN PROMINENT IN THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT, HAVING COME LATE TO IT DURING THE WAR. NEVERTHELESS, HE WOULD LIKELY EMERGE BECAUSE "YOU CAN STILL NOT HAVE A SERB OR A CROAT LEADING YUGOSLAVIA; THERE IS NO BOSNIAN WITH ANY TALENT AND THEY ARE ALL INCREASINGLY HARD-LINE; THERE IS NO MONTENEGRIN OF SUFFICIENT STATURE, AND THIS PRETTY MUCH LEAVES IT WITH DOLANC. AN OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THE MACEDONIAN PRESIDUM MEMBER LAZAR KOLISEVSKI." MARKOVIC CONTINUED THAT THE LEADERSHIP MOST CERTAINLY WOULD CONTINUE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ROTATION, THE ONLY SCHEME UNDER WHICH AN ACTIVE AND DYNAMIC FUTURE NATIONAL LEADER FROM SERBIA AND CROATIA COULD EVER BE DEVELOPED, AS THE TOW NATIONALITY GROUPS WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO SHUTTLE THE LEADERSHIP BACK AND FORTH.

3. SOCIETY: MARKOVIC SAID THE COUNTRY COULD BE DIVIDED ROUGHLY INTO THREE GROUPS. ONE HE LABELLED DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS, BASICALLY ATTUNED TO WESTERN NOTIONS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY. AT THE PRESENT TIME THIS GROUP IS UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE FROM THE POLICE APPARATUS AND IS MORE AND MORE RELUCTANT TO SPEAK UP, ESPECIALLY TO FOREIGNERS. A LARGER GROUP HE CHARACTERIZED AS A "CONFUSED NEW MIDDLE CALSS OF YUGOSLAV SOCIALISTS" THAT HAS BEEN SLOWLY ACCUMULATING MORE MATERIAL PROSPERITY BUT DOES NOT KNOW WHERE TO GO WITH IT. THIS GROUP HAS "MUDDLED POLITICAL IDEAS" THAT ARE EFFECTIVELY BOTTLED UP BY THE REGIME. A THIRD GROUP HE CALLED "STALINIST HARD-LINERS" WHO ARE MUCH STRONGER LATELY BY VIRTUE OF AN INCREASE IN POLICE CONTROL -- AND ARE PREDOMINANT IN THE BOSNIAN PARTY AND GOVT APPARATUS. MARKOVIC WOULD MAKE NO PREDICTIONS AS TO THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF YUGOSLAV SOCIETY, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE COUNTRY WAS DEEPER AND DEEPER IN FINANCIAL DEBT AND THE PHENOMENON OF SHORT-TERM AD HOC POLICY MAKING (ALWAYS WITH AN EYE TO A POSSIBLE IMMINENT DEMISE OF TITO) WAS CRAMPING WAYS OF FINDING SOLUTIONS TO YUGOSLAVIA'S LONGER-TERM PROBLEMS, CONFIDENTIAL

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ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC.

4. THE LCY: ACCORDING TO MARKOVIC, A PARTY PRESIDUM MEETING WAS HELD IN MAY TO DEBATE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES. THE STIMULUS FOR THIS HAD BEEN THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TITO VISIT TO SWEDEN, AT A TIME WHEN THE LAWYER SRDJA POPOVIC'S CASE WAS MUCH IN THE HEADLINES OF THE WESTERN PRESS. A FILM ON POPOVIC AND

HIS PROBLEMS HAD BEEN RUN ON SWEDISH TELEVISION AND THIS HAD INFURIATED TITO. THIS, PLUS INITIAL RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE PALME GOVT TO TAKE SOME HARSH ANTI-EMIGRE DISSIDENT MEASURES FOR THE TITO TRIP, NEARLY CAUSED THE TRIP TO BE SCRUBBED. THE LCY MEETING DISCUSSED THE ADVERSE PUBLICITY THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAD RECEIVED IN SWEDEN AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WEST ABOUT POPOVIC, MIHAJLOV, AND POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL. WHEN WHAT TO DO WITH POPOVIC WAS PUT ON THE TABLE, THE BOSNIANS MIJATOVIC, LT COL GEN SARAC AND MESIHOVIC SAID THAT POPOVIC SHOULD BE KEPT IN JAIL AS HE WAS A DANGEROUS SUBVERSIVE. KARDELJ SPOKE UP AND SAID THAT THIS ATTITUDE WAS "NONSENSE" AND THE "VLADO (BAKARIC) HAD INVESTIGATED THE WHOLE MATTER; THERE WAS NOTHING ILLEGAL ABOUT WHAT POPOVIC HAD DONE AND THE WHOLE CASE IS CREATING FOR YUGOSLAVIA A LOT OF UNNECESSARY PROBLEMS."

5. COMMENT: MARKOVIC'S COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES (ESPECIALLY THE EMERGING YUGOSLAV "MIDDLE CLASS") CORRESPOND WITH THOSE EXPRESSED TO THE AMBASSADOR BY BELGRADE PROFESSOR ADAMOVIC (REFTEL). LIKE ADAMOVIC, MARKOVIC IS ALSO UNSURE ABOUT ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA.
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